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THE CHINESE QUESTION ANALYZED.

A Lecture

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 13TH, 1877.

By J. G. KERR, M.D.,
Twenty-three years a resident of China.

WITH AN APPENDIX ON CHINESE EMIGRATION.

SAN FRANCISCO:
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THE CHINESE QUESTION

ANALYZED.

The hostility of one portion of the inhabitants of this State against another portion is so great, and exerts so much influence on the entire population in creating uneasiness, disturbing business, and exciting apprehensions for the future, that the situation demands our most careful study and discussion, so that we may understand the nature of, and provide a remedy for, the dangers which are admitted by all to exist.

The presence of the Chinese on this coast is the disturbing element in the body politic, but a moment's thought will show that they are not the responsible cause. They are here by treaty rights, established, not at their solicitation, but as the result of efforts made by our own and other nations to open China to foreign commerce. They came here when the white population was small and their labor was needed. They were drawn here, too, as all men were drawn, by the wonderful mineral wealth of the State. No reasonable man can blame them for being here.

We must look, therefore, for the source of danger to some other cause, and we find it in the hostility of white laborers to the comparatively peaceable and inoffensive Chinese. The opening of the trans-continental railroad has largely increased the white population, and they, finding the Chinese able to compete successfully with them in many industries, have determined to put a stop to this competition—by lawful means if possible; but failing in their use, to put a stop to the competition by whatever means may be necessary. They propose:

1st. To stop immigration.

2d. To stop the employment of those here, and thus get rid of them.

The aggression is therefore altogether on the part of white residents, *and the responsibility for whatever danger threatens the public rests with them.*

In the remarks we have to make on several points connected with the Chinese question, we propose to review some recent passing events, and in doing so, we will show that society is drifting, under the lead of demagogues, to a state of disorder, and tending towards dangers which may be seen when too late; and we will also demonstrate that the remedies proposed to stop Chinese immigration and appease the laboring masses are utterly futile and impracticable, and can only result in deceiving, and thus exasperating the dangerous elements of society.

We need go no farther back than the mobs of July 23d, 24th, and 25th. These were the result of the upheaval in the Eastern States—a tidal wave of that excitement, rolling across the continent to the Pacific coast; but owing to peculiar local conditions, it took a different form here. The railroad companies were warned in time to prevent a repetition of the destruction made in Pittsburg and other places. There was no strike of employees, or of labor against capital, but it was the hostility of one class of laborers against another class.

As soon as a laboring man's meeting was got up, the question, "What about the Chinese?" indicated the channel in which men's minds were running. The passions of the multitude, already aroused by anti-Coolie agitators, burst forth with fury. It is not necessary to repeat here the story of those three nights of terror, incendiarism, and murder, nor to show how imminent danger to property and life were barely averted by the timely and decisive action of the Committee of Safety. The cry of the mob, "For Chinatown, boys—let's go for Chinatown!" indicated the predominant sentiment in their minds. But the destruction of property unconnected with Chinatown showed the Committee of Safety that the protection of the city required the protection of the Chinese. Succeeding events, however, show that the Committee of Safety and people generally have failed to learn that the protection of the rights of the white man requires that the Chinese shall be protected in their rights.

The election of September 5th is an event which unmistakably indicated the drift of public opinion. A political campaign has usually been an occasion for anti-Chinese excitement, but the late election, following so soon after the mobs, was characterized by a display of zeal on the part of both parties, which showed, even to a casual observer, how hostility to the Asiatic was the real question on which success depended. No man could hope for office who did not join in the cry against the Chinese. The daily papers were thoroughly agreed on the subject, the candidates were all above suspicion, and none of them ventured to whisper a

word against the prevailing sentiment. Meetings of anti-Coolie clubs and public gatherings of so-called laboring men were held, before and after the election, demanding that the Chinese should not be allowed to come to this country, and that those here should be dismissed from employment. Threats were freely indulged in, and the torch was applied in numerous instances to the property of those who refused to comply. This is an argument which a great many cannot resist, and those who employ it are encouraged directly by the violent and incendiary language of demagogues, and indirectly by the enforced silence of the more intelligent classes, whose necks are under the heel of the tyrant that wields the fiery sceptre.

In this warfare against the Chinese, the rights and liberty of the white man are just as much at stake as those of the Chinaman. Both must stand or fall together. The mob sets up the preposterous claim that it will dictate to people what kind of labor they shall employ. The daily papers do not dare to publish articles defending the rights of the Chinese; and freedom of discussion on this subject is almost as thoroughly suppressed as it was on the slavery question in the South before the war. Where is our boasted independence, when we dare not speak a word in favor of an abused, persecuted, and down-trodden class? Where is the liberty purchased for us by the blood of our fathers, when we must dismiss faithful and reliable workmen and servants at the bidding of the mob? The talk about the slavery and serfdom of the Chinese becomes ridiculous jargon when compared with the bondage under which the proud and haughty Caucasian thus bows his neck. Men may deny that such is their degradation, but no intelligent stranger can be an observer of things here for a week without seeing it.

The next event which I present to your notice is the "Memorial of the Senate of California to the Congress of the United States." The source from which this paper emanates, and the object with which it was prepared, makes it a document of more than ordinary importance. It is the result of the joint labors of seven chosen members of the Senate of California, appointed nearly two years ago. They have aimed, no doubt, to produce a paper that would convince the national Legislature that the salvation of the country and of the Anglo-Saxon race requires the exclusion of the Chinese from our shores.

We do not propose to follow, through all the labyrinths of sophistry and misrepresentation, this production of the seven statesmen of the California Senate, but we will show how thoroughly men in high and responsible positions have been made to succumb to demands of the mob spirit; and we will,

at the same time, show how they have stultified themselves by issuing a document, to go before the country and the world, which disregards facts, exhibits ignorance of international law and comity, and tramples on the clearest rights of man.

These statesmen of the California Senate, in dealing with a question which involves the interests of two neighboring nations and of multitudes of men of both races, have evinced a narrow selfishness which could not discern the true interests of either party; and in discussing the movements of masses of population they do not even touch on the fundamental natural laws which govern these movements.

The authors of this Memorial to Congress propose to deal with Chinese immigration on the ground that it is the "Coolie trade," or the slave trade in disguise. It would seem, however, that their minds are not altogether clear as to the exact nature of the servitude to which Chinese "slaves," who compete so successfully with free white labor, are held. We select the following epithets as indicating the mixed idea the authors have of slavery in the abstract, and of that form of it which they wish to abolish: "Slavery by contract;" "servile labor to them is their natural and inevitable lot;" "foreign serfs;" "master and serf;" "trade in men and women;" "by the unalterable structure of their intelligent being, voluntary slaves." "If cheap labor means servile labor, it is a burlesque on the policy of emancipation."

The committee have here brought to light a state of slavery not provided against either in the Constitution of the United States or in that of California, and they deserve great credit for coming forward as pioneer abolitionists, and they may rely upon the aid of all lovers of freedom in uniting with them to secure the addition to our national and State constitutions of amendments forbidding "slavery by contract," "voluntary slavery," and all such "servile labor" as is included in "cheap labor!"

The statesmen of the California Senate propose to appeal to a foreign power, "Great Britain, to coöperate with our own Government in the absolute prohibition of this trade in men and women." (P. 9.) It is well known, as the Committee truly say, that Great Britian has long pursued a "uniform policy in suppressing any traffic resembling the slave trade." But everybody knows that all this "trade in men and women," as they call it, passes through Hong Kong, a British colony, and is carried on almost exclusively in English and American ships.

Moreover, this slave trade, or Coolie traffic, or whatever it is, has been going on in Hong Kong for more than a

quarter of a century; for every man who goes to Australia, California, or Oregon, takes passage at that port. How can the committee reconcile this *fact* with Great Britain's uniform policy?

It is well known that only about four or five years ago the English Government did coöperate with our own and other Governments in putting a stop to the "Coolie trade" in Macao, a Portuguese colony, forty miles to the westward of Hong Kong. It is most marvellous that those Governments, while dealing with the traffic under the Portuguese and Spanish flags, should have paid no attention to the "trade in men and women" in Hong Kong, under the English and American flags. The only explanation that can be given is, that Chinese emigrants, sailing from Hong Kong, are just as free as any sailing from Liverpool or Cork.

If this is not so, we must infer that the Chinese are able to *carry on the slave trade on a gigantic scale, through a British port, under British and American flags, and to British and American ports,* and yet evade the laws so cleverly that the officers of neither Government have ever been able to bring forward sufficient proof to put a stop to it. If the committee admit that they are cunning enough to evade the laws so successfully, they need not attempt to match them in any thing. The Yankee must succumb to the "heathen Chinee," and it would be better to do it at once, and gracefully.

Nevertheless, the committee, in presenting this memorial to Congress, propose to accompany it with "an elaborate argument, supported by selections from the testimony of reliable witnesses," to prove that the "trade in men and women" at Hong Kong brings slaves or coolies to California. If, after all, there is *ample testimony* that Chinese, arriving here, are the victims of any kind of slave or coolie traffic, it is only necessary to transmit it to the British Cabinet, through the American minister in London, and a telegram to the Governor of Hong Kong will put an end immediately to the "trade in men and women" from that port. All that is required is *adequate evidence.*

The learned committee who are the authors of this remarkable paper on "voluntary slavery," and on the slave trade under the British and American flags, seem not to be aware that the British Cabinet is thoroughly posted on Chinese affairs, and especially on the Coolie traffic. The British Government, some fifteen years ago, established and conducted a system of Coolie emigration from Canton and Hong Kong to Demarara and Trinidad, to supply laborers to those colonies. This was similar in form to the Macao Coolie traffic, but differing from it in every other respect, the British Government being pledged to secure to the

laborer the enjoyments of his rights. This emigration was stopped a few years ago, on account of the difficuly of conducting it free from the evils attending that from Macao.

Moreover, the British Minister at Peking, and nearly all her Majesty's Consuls in China, are familiar with the language, laws, and customs of the country; and some of them are sinalogues of very high reputation. The British Government, therefore, has not only practical knowledge of the working of various systems of emigration, but has able and experienced men in her service in that Empire. That Government also keeps a staff of interpreters at Hong Kong and at all the treaty ports, so that her Majesty's officers have no occasion to unite with the committee in confessions of "ignorance of their language," but they are prepared to investigate any question that may arise, in which the interests of commerce or of humanity may be concerned; and it is simply an impossibility for the Coolie trade, or any traffic resembling the slave trade, to be carried on in Hong Kong, without being immediately brought to the notice of her Majesty's Government.

Therefore, the authors of this memorial to Congress stultify themselves by appealing to our own Government to ask the aid of the British Government in putting a stop to *what does not exist*—a mere phantom of diseased anti-Coolie imaginations.

One of the chief features of this remarkable paper, and that which makes it so important as one of the recent events bearing on public opinion, and showing the drift of public opinion in this State, is the threat of extirpation of the Chinese, which is held up in such solemn and portentous language. We here also notice the letter of Governor Irwin to the late Committee of Safety, which is important only because it is an evidence from a high source that if Congress fails to do the will of the anti-Chinese agitators, they will redress their imaginary wrongs with fire and sword. *This is the argument upon which advocates of the exclusion of the Chinese seem to rely when all others fail.*

The Senate Committee use the following language: "Is it not possible that free white labor, unable to compete with those foreign serfs, and perceiving its condition becoming slowly but inevitably more hopelessly abject, may unite in all the horrors of riot and insurrection, and defying the civil power, extirpate with fire and sword those who rob them of their bread, yet pay no tribute to the State? This is a frightful possibility, but we have within a brief period witnessed its portents." * * * (P. 8.)

Governor Irwin, under date of July 31st, speaks as follows: "It is not doubtful which horn of the dilemma he

(the workingman) in the last resort will choose. He will abandon the field to the Chinaman. But it is fearful to think of the struggles he may make before he adopts this dread alternative. As he sees his fate slowly but surely overtaking him, it is appalling even to think of what he may attempt in his despair. In his desperation, he may, like blind Samson, lay hold of the pillars of the Temple and seek relief in one common and indiscriminate destruction. To be plain, the discontent of the workingmen on the Chinese question is a constant menace. The danger from this source can only be removed by removing its cause. In other words, the unlimited influx of Chinese to our shores must be stopped, or San Francisco and the State will be constantly exposed to dangers, compared with which the recent disturbances will be as molehills to mountains."

The committee farther say: "It is no answer that these uprisings are the work of the criminal classes only: they have a deep root in the sense of self-preservation. Throughout the length and breadth of California, the white laborer knows the effect of this grinding competition." * * * (P. 8.)

The Committee of Safety, composed of leading men of the city, in their final report, refer to the fact that "antipathy to Coolie labor is becoming more and more intensified," and say that "the question we are called upon to face is, shall we permit the Pacific Slope to become a great Chinese colony where paganism shall reign supreme for an indefinite period of time to come?" and they express it as their "solemn conviction that it is the imperative duty of our Government to take immediate measures, in the interests of American civilization on the Pacific Coast, to negotiate a modification of the Burlingame Treaty, and of our treaties with England and Portugal if necessary, so as to prohibit the farther immigration of Chinese to our shores."

We might make, from the daily papers, numerous quotations similar to the above, but we wish to show the high places to which lawless men look for encouragement in their hostility to the Chinese. These extracts also show how the submission of public men is no uncertain indication of the fearful despotism which rules in this State, and which, if not checked, will precipitate the very calamities which men wish to avoid by submission.

The warfare against the Chinese is made professedly in behalf of the laboring man. The sufferings of the white laborer are dwelt upon and pointed out in pathetic language. But the Chinaman is a laboring man too. He must have food and clothing for himself and family, and a roof to cover him from the cold and the storm. He and his wife and children and his aged parents are as much creatures of

God as the man with a white skin, and the fruits of the earth produced or earned by the sweat of his brow are just as much the gifts of our common Father to him as to men of any other race or color. God is no respecter of persons, and those who claim exclusive right to the blessings to be secured in any part of God's earth are presuming upon a favoritism which does not exist in the Divine economy.

We hear on all hands of the desparation to which the white laborer will be driven, as he sees the cheap labor of the Asiatic slowly, but surely, usurping what he claims as his own. The flames of burning cities and the torrents of blood in our streets are the frightful prices we are to pay for cheap labor. These are dwelt on as if the white man was the only one to complain—as if he was the one whose rights were invaded, and as if he had a divine right to exterminate those who stand in his way. The men who present to us the fearful retribution which awaits the Chinese, and those who are their friends, forget that the midnight torch is a weapon which Chinamen can use as well as white men. They forget that if they are displaced from factories and shops, to give place to their enemies, the lessons of incendiarism they have been taught can be practiced on a broader scale. If the white man undertakes, in this way, to put a stop to fair and open competition, the Chinaman may be driven, by oppression and injustice, to avenge wrongs which have been heaped upon him ever since he has been in this Christian country. This is an aspect of the case, a phase of the war, the anti-Coolie agitators have failed to consider. The patient endurance and martyr-like submission of a helpless people have encouraged their enemies to think that they have nothing to fear. And perhaps they have not from the Chinese. But they must know that a just God reigns in the heavens above and in the earth beneath. The oppression of the black race was continued until the cup of our iniquity was full, and our own swords were the ministers of the Almighty to execute his decrees. What torrents of blood and oceans of treasure were poured out to secure the rights of a down-trodden and abused race from Africa! Let us be wise in reference to the heathen in our midst from Asia, lest a worse fate overtake us.

We will now investigate the grounds on which it is proposed to invoke the interference of Congress.

The antagonism to the Chinese has arisen from the fact that they compete successfully in the labor market with men of other nationalities. There are various reasons why they have this advantage, and it is well to have a clear understanding on this point. One of the chief reasons, and one that is patent to everybody, is that white laborers are addicted to

the intemperate use of ardent spirits, and Chinese are not. It is a remarkable fact that a drunken Chinaman is a rare sight. During a long residence in one of the principal cities of the Empire, I have not seen, on an average, more than one a year. The white man spends his wages for liquor, unfits himself for work, and leaves his family in distress. This is the bane of our country and of our race. The multitudes of grog-shops, supported almost entirely by workingmen, and the millions of dollars worse than wasted every year, testify to the prevalence of the evil, and explains to a great extent why our own people have to give way to the sober, reliable, docile, patient Asiatic. The advantage here is overwhelmingly in favor of the latter, and it is greatly to his credit that it is so. If the Chinese were patrons of the corner groceries and innumerable rum-holes of the city, the hostility of a certain class would be very much moderated. When Congress undertakes to enact laws to exclude certain foreigners from our shores, it cannot discriminate in favor of the drunken and unreliable, as against the sober, industrious, and reliable.

It is objected that the Chinese labor cheaper than white men can or will labor. Cheap labor is what many people want. It is what people have a right to, if they can get it honestly; and to be deprived of it when it is brought to their doors is what freemen will not submit to. Men who do submit to the demands of the mob are not free men, and basely yielding one right, will prepare the way for parting with others. Congress cannot, therefore, exclude men of any nation because they work cheap.

Moreover, the industrial interests of the Pacific Slope are, to a very large extent, in the hands of Germans, Frenchmen, Jews, and other foreigners, who have not the race-prejudice characteristic of the Irish; and it would be unjust for the national Legislature to deprive them of the cheap labor with which they have gained success and added to the prosperity of the country.

It is objected to the Chinese that they have "earned $180,000,000," the whole of which is "abstracted from the State and exported to China." (P. 5.) If they have earned it, they have rendered an equivalent, and they had a right to do with it as they chose; and certainly there has been no inducement to invest it where there are periodical outbreaks against them, and constant threats of extirpation by fire and sword. Moreover, the Government of the United States cannot exclude foreigners because they make money among us, or because they send it to other countries. This is done not only by foreigners, but very largely by native-born citizens every year, and however desirable it may be to keep all

our gold in the country, it cannot be done. Men have an inherent right to dispose of their property as they think best.

It is objected to the Chinese that they can live more cheaply than the white man, and are therefore able to underbid him in the labor market. This is true only to a limited extent. It is as much a necessity for the Chinese laborer to have a sufficient supply of good nutritious food as for the white laborer, and without it, neither can keep on at steady, continuous work. Now, rice is the staple article of food used by all Chinese, whether rich or poor, and it is more indespensable to them than flour is to us. The price of rice is about $7 00 per 100 lbs. or double the price of flour, the staple article of the white man's table. Meats and vegetables will be about the same for both, while house rent will be against the white man. Taking all together, the difference cannot be very great, and is more apparent than real, because every Chinaman has friends at home dependant on him. But admitting that the Chinese are a frugal, economical people as a class, the fact or hypothesis furnishes no grounds on which Congress can take action to exclude them from the country.

It is objected to the Chinese that they are idolators, and men express the fear that "our State will become a Chinese colony, where paganism shall reign supreme for an indefinite period of time." It is a cardinal principle of our Government that every man shall have "liberty to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience;" and if there is any subject on which the people will not brook interference by the general Government, it is that of religion. To propose, therefore, that Congress shall make the religion of foreigners a test of their fitness to land on our shores, can meet with no encouragement.

It may be admitted, and after a long and intimate knowledge of Chinese character in their own country, we have no controversy with those who assert that pagans are not a desirable element to be incorporated into the body politic, but we must go counter to the traditions of the fathers of the Republic, and the principles on which it is founded, if we would exclude either Catholics or pagans on account of their religion, however much some parties might desire to exclude both.

We have thus seen that the objections brought against the Chinese, that they are pagans, that they work cheap, that they are sober, industrious, and reliable, that they live cheap, that they make money and send it out of the country, form no basis on which to lay a claim that our national Legislature should enact laws to exclude them from the

country. We might also show that it is equally frivolous to ask Congress to legislate against them because they prefer their own style of dress, or their own style of food, or because they prefer to go back to their own country, while alive if they can, or to have their bodies sent back if they die. When we analyze the "memorial," and the papers to which we have referred and the anti-Chinese sermons, these are the reasons upon which the demand is made that foreigners from one country shall be shut out for the benefit of foreigners from other countries; but they have nothing to do with the question, and unless reasons which will bear investigation can be presented, the herculean efforts of politicians, editors, and anti-Coolie club orators must meet with a humiliating failure.

Upon what grounds, then, may Chinese immigration to our shores be limited? We answer:

First. Criminals may be excluded.

Second. Paupers may be excluded; and,

Third. Prostitutes may be excluded.

These are legitimate grounds for stopping immigration, as far as they apply, and they are the only grounds upon which an application can be made to stop people coming from any country. But laws already exist which apply to those classes, and if they are not stringent enough, they can easily be amended.

The great mass of Chinese who come to this country are from the agricultural districts of Canton Province, where they are taught from childhood that economy and patient industry which distinguishes the Chinese and Japanese from all other Asiatic nations. They are not, as the authors of the memorial falsely assert, "mainly of those having no homes or occupation on the land, but living in boats on the rivers, especially those in the vicinity of Canton." The entire male boat population of Canton and vicinity is little more than equal to the emigration to the Pacific Coast and Australia, while in those districts which furnish three-fourths of the whole, the rivers are small and the boat population not numerous.

That there are criminals among them who come from large cities and towns, and follow their thrifty countrymen to prey on them, no one will deny, but it is the province of the law. and the duty of its officers in a well-governed community, to deal with these men, without reference to race, color, or nationality.

There is, therefore, only one other effectual way of stopping the Chinese immigration, namely, mob violence; and if the law-abiding, liberty-loving, God-fearing citizens of California are ready to cast aside law, justice, honor, truth,

mercy, and peace; they can let loose fire and sword against the helpless, inoffensive, industrious strangers, but they must abide the terrible consequences.

Having examined the grounds on which it is demanded that congressional action shall be taken to exclude Chinese immigrants from our shores, and found them utterly unsound and worthless, we will now briefly notice the plans proposed by anti-Coolie statesmen, editors, and agitators to accomplish the end.

1st. The authors of the Senate Memorial to Congress propose—"an appeal to the Government of Great Britain to coöperate with our own Govenment in the absolute prohibition of the trade in men and women." This we have disposed of above.

2d. They propose—"The joint and friendly action of the two countries with the Empire of China in the abrogation of all treaties between the three nations permitting the emigration of Chinese to the United States." The abrogation of the Burlingame Treaty is altogether unnecessary, for two reasons. 1st. Because, if the Chinese are brought here as Coolies or slaves, that treaty does not protect the Coolie or slave trade, but absolutely prohibits it. 2d. All who come as *bona fide* emigrants, sail from Hong Kong, a British port, where our treaty with China has no force whatever.

The abrogation of our treaty with England, or any modification of it, cannot prevent free emigrants from sailing from her ports, unless that Government will consent to constitute itself a guard to keep away from us such people as we dislike. She must also put an arbitrary stop to a branch of legitimate business which has added very much to the prosperity of one of her colonies. It is therefore very clear that the abrogation of treaties with China and England is a vain hope, a futile resource.

3d. Another plan proposed by the Senate Committee in their Memorial to Congress is to "limit the number of Chinese allowed to be landed from any vessel entering the ports of the United States to, say, not more than ten." (P. 9.) This has received the sanction of Senator Sargent and other men of standing. The proposition is so absurd and unjust in its application to our own mercantile marine, and so utterly impracticable in its application to the vessels of all other nations, that I deem any further notice of it unnecessary.

4th. Another plan which has been proposed by the newspapers, and has the sanction of the Senate Committee, and of many men of respectability, is the non-employment of Chinese. This has been shown so clearly to be impracticable by the editor of the "Record-Union" of Sacramento,

that I quote his words. He says: "Very few people employ Chinese because they prefer them to white men, though it has been claimed for them that they are more docile and tractable than any other kind of laborers. But it is because they are cheap that people employ them, and the motives which induce people to seek and utilize the most economical forms of labor are far too powerful to be talked away. As to getting men to agree not to employ Chinese, we have seen that tried before, and know just what may be expected from it. Unless every employer of labor can be kept to his agreement strictly, the scheme will prove a failure inside of a month, and experience shows that it is impossible to secure this universal fidelity to promises. Take a trade in illustration, say that of shoemaking. Twenty manufacturers agree that they will employ no more Chinese labor. So long as they all hold to their agreement, providing that they represent the entire trade, they may stand the change. But presently they find that somebody is underselling them, and inquiry reveals the fact that they are competing with Chinese labor, even if their own friends do not employ it. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent Chinese capitalists from entering the business against them, and in that case, of course, no agreement of the kind noted can be had. Thus manufacturers are driven in self-defence to employ Chinese, and when it becomes a question with them of bankruptcy or cheap labor, it need not be doubted that they will prefer the latter."

The only way, therefore, of carrying out the non-employment plan is by the incendiarism and tyranny which has already been inaugurated, and which is daily threatening to include the white capitalist and the Chinese in the one common destruction.

There are some facts bearing on the mutual relations of China and this country which should be borne in mind by statesmen. China is educating her future rulers in this country. She has constructed arsenals and docks, and is making weapons of war and vessels of war of the most approved patterns. She is training her soldiers and seamen after the drill of the best disciplinarians. The material resources of the country, the mines of iron and coal, of silver and gold, have lain all these ages almost untouched, and now she is beginning to see the power which these resources have in store for her. Then, with a population so vastly outnumbering all other nations, she looks forward to the time when she will be able to maintain her rights and protect her people against all the powers of the earth. That time may be fifty, or it may be one hundred years hence, but it will surely come; and when it does come, if the American

nation can point to a record of honorable justice in intercourse with her in the days of her weakness, we may then claim her for an ally, and not fear her as an enemy. The wise statesman forecasts the future contingencies of his country, which passing events portend, and is not blinded by the partisan and selfish demands of demagogues.

The Senate Committee assure us that "the Chinese now here are protected by our treaty obligations and laws, and that they will continue to receive that protection, the people and Government of this State will be responsible." (P. 8.) Some anti-Coolie agitators profess to favor this; but let us inquire what this protection, thus promised, amounts to. It means, no doubt, that the Chinese shall be secure against mob violence. We have shown that nothing short of this will protect the lives and property of white people; and the late Committee of Safety gave a most noble and praiseworthy proof that they were sincere in protecting all from open violence. But protection includes vastly more than that. If men are not secured in the enjoyment of their *rights*, the obligations of the State are far from being fulfilled. We ask the question direct, will the law-abiding people of California pledge to the Chinese residents that they shall have their rights, and be secure in the enjoyment of them? This is what the white man and the black man have a right to demand, and we claim that it is due to every man.

To be definite, we submit two items:

First. Every youth has a right to the benefits of our free schools. The Chinese have this right in common with all others; and they pay into the School Fund of this State, in this city alone, over $42,000 per annum, and a large sum in other parts of the State, while all Chinese youth are excluded from the public schools. We ask, will you unite in securing to them this right, and protecting them in the enjoyment of it?

Second. All men have a right to be protected from oppressive laws and taxation. I pass over the numerous unjust laws which disgrace the statute books of this State, the sole object of which was to oppress the stranger—the laboring man in our borders—and call your attention to one which is a blot on the nation. I refer to the law requiring a duty of $1 25 on every 50 lbs. of rice imported from China. Rice is the staff of life to the Chinese, as bread is to us. This tax on rice is equivalent to a tax of $5 00 per barrel on flour. It is the policy of the Government to discriminate in taxation in favor of the laboring man, and therefore the necessaries of life are taxed lightly, or not at all. But here is an

oppressive tax on the very food which supports the life of a large class of laboring men who have no voice in making our laws. We ask again, will the law-abiding people of California unite in removing this oppressive burden, as well as those which have been imposed by the State? When this is done, when all are equally secure in the enjoyment of their rights, then will assurances of protection be a reality.

If a tax of $5 00 was levied on each barrel of flour, how would the friends of the poor man denounce the Government? The papers would teem with editorials, and politicians would wax eloquent in defence of the rights of the laboring man, thus oppressed by an iniquitous taxation of his bread. But when the Government oppresses the patient, uncomplaining Asiatic, no voice is lifted in his defence, but the cry resounds on all sides, Drive him from every employment, expel him from the country! Even men professing to be the disciples of Christ unite in this unreasonable, unwise, and wicked persecution.

The authors of this memorial to Congress are sadly disappointed that the "residence here beneath the elevating influences of Christian precept and example, and the zealous labors of earnest Christian teachers" (p. 6) has not brought more of these pagans to adopt our religion and civilization. They say that there are "painfully few professing Christians among them."

It is a sufficient answer to this to say that it is no part of the object of the Chinese, in coming here, to learn our religion or civilization. They look back with a commendable pride upon a history of their own civilization, which, however we may now consider it defective, placed them, at no remote period, on an equality with other nations of the earth. They are proud of a literature of vast extent and of refined culture, embracing history, poetry, and philosophy, with voluminous dictionaries and encyclopædias, some of which were made long before our language had an existence. Centuries before education in Europe was emancipated from the shackles of the priesthood, a system had been established by which the Government of China encouraged the education of the people, and there has existed, for two thousand years, a literary class which has produced authors and statesmen whose names and works will be handed down through all time. As a commercial people, their own country has afforded such vast fields for enterprise that immense fortunes have been accumulated, and taste for luxury and the fine arts, and every thing that can be made to conduce to human enjoyment, has been indulged in to an extent that would astonish even our millionaires. It is not strange, therefore, that they should prefer their own civilization to that semi-barbarism

which has made their life here a state of constant anxiety and fear.

As to religion, some of those who came in search of gold have found the pearl of great price; and at last such humble ones, be they few or many, will be found in Abraham's bosom, while their enemies, if they do not repent, will lift up their eyes in torment.

That so few of them have embraced our religion is cause for regret, and has several reasons, one of which is given with much force by the Rev. Dr. Rexford, a Universalist minister of this city, who says: "Brothers Loomis and Gibson may impress a simple-minded Celestial with certain parts of the theory of Christianity, but the poor fellow will do well if he can receive this Christian lesson, and then reach his home without being pelted with stones from the hands of our young Christians, who constitute a part of the fruits of our Christianity. And generally, we shall find that the lesson of the stones received in the streets will be remembered longer, and will make a deeper impression concerning our Christianity, than the lesson from the preacher." Would the members of the Senate Committee, under similar circumstances in China, find their hearts inclined to embrace the doctrines of the sages Confucius or Lao Tsz? Painfully few, I fear.

There is a radical error underlying the hostility to the Chinese, and all the utterances of politicians, editors, ministers, and anti-Coolie club orators, concerning them. They are groping in the dark in search of a remedy which shall silence the clamors of the mob, remove the real and imaginary evils arising from their presence, and secure the monopoly of labor to a class. We have shown that these hopes are vain, that they rest upon foundations of sand, which the current of God's providence will in due time wash from under them.

It is assumed by all who oppose the Chinese that they have no right to come to this country, and that if the Burlingame Treaty was abrogated, the permission now granted to them would be withdrawn. The great natural law, however, is that man has an inherent, inalienable right to go to any part of the world he may choose, and there try to better his condition. The Chinese have the same natural right to come to this country that people of any other nationality have. Americans and Englishmen are found in almost every country in the world, and when they meet with barriers to their admission, diplomatists and fleets and armies scatter these barriers to the four winds. The War of 1812–14 was the testimony of this nation to the inherent right of men to change their home and their nationality if they choose.

When China and Japan were closed against foreign nations,

the fleets of England and America knocked at their doors, and, in answer to a very imperative invitation, they were opened to the commerce of all nations, and men of many nationalities now reside within their borders. It was deemed, and rightly deemed, that the interests of all parties required that the walls of exclusiveness, which had so long shut them in, should be broken down. Now it is proposed that we shall erect a great wall on our Western coast, in imitation of the semi-civilized nations of Asia, and exclude *them* from coming among us, when they find it to *their* advantage to do so. It is too late for us to do this; and that it is utterly futile to make the attempt, we have shown. And besides, the natural laws which govern the movements of populations, and establish the values of commodities (labor included) are superior to all human enactments, and will in the end override them all.

While writing this paper, the natural and inevitable results of the state of public opinion on the Chinese question are being worked out in the communistic demonstrations of the agitators. The community is reaping what politicians have sown. Hostility to the Chinese is a hobby on which they have rode into office, and in doing so, they kindled a fire which is rumbling in portentous quakings beneath their feet.

The arrest of a few of the leaders does not quench the fire which all these years has been carefully fanned. The agitation which has been encouraged by governors and legislators and mayors, and by aspirants for office, and, to a considerable extent, by Christian people, will not subside at the bidding of a policeman, a jury, or a court.

The hostility to the Chinese is founded on falsehood, on ignorance, and injustice. To remove these is the demand of the hour. The remedies required are therefore evident:

1st. Let free and full discussion of both sides of the question be established, and thus ignorance will be dissipated and falsehood exposed by the light of truth. As long as the press is shackled, and the two or three outspoken advocates of an oppressed and despised race are hooted, maligned, and threatened with violence, it is an abuse of language to say that we live in a free country.

2d. Let the rights of the Chinese be secured to them. This includes the repeal of all unjust and oppressive laws, whether municipal, State, or national. It includes the right to education, the right to labor and to employ labor, and to enjoy the fruits of labor. It includes the right to representation in the legislative department of our government on such equitable and just qualification as may be deemed wise. It includes also the right to be punished for crimes; and to assure justice in our courts, it is of the utmost importance

that a staff of qualified and reliable interpreters should be provided.

Having discharged these duties on our part, and the proper diplomatic officers having been sent here by the Imperial Government of China, those who are now the objects of abuse and maltreatment will be elevated to a position commanding respect, and the prejudice and hatred against them will die out, just as it has in the case of the negro.

In this way, and in our humble opinion in this way alone, can the smouldering fires of insurrection and incendiarism be quenched, and the dangers which threaten our city and State be averted. The welfare of the laboring man of every race is bound up in the public peace and security, and his true friends are those who, by wise counsels and prudent measures, secure to him these inestimable blessings.

When those who have undertaken to solve the Chinese problem will present some rational, just, and common sense method of attaining the object proposed, then may Christian citizens unite in promoting it. But as yet no such method has been found, and the advocates of exclusion cannot agree among themselves on the plans brought forward. I have attempted to show that no just and practical method can be proposed. If that proves to be correct, then it is very evident that the Chinese are not only here by the providence of God, but that the same unerring Providence designs them to remain here; and it is wisdom on our part to elevate and educate and Christianize them, thus making them good citizens.

It has not entered into the plan of this paper to discuss the obligations of Christians to present to the Chinese around us the blessings and hopes of our holy religion, but I wish to say to any who admit this obligation, that it is utterly useless to hold up the gospel of love and peace in one hand, while the other lends aid to that abuse, injustice, and oppression which sends so many of them back to their own benighted land, hating, with a bitter hatred of our laws, our civilization and our religion. The most pressing duty of the Church in California is to see that all her members wash their hands of the guilt of giving aid and comfort to those who are engaged in this unchristian persecution of their fellow-men. How many of our ministers and members have forgotten the parable of the good Samaritan, and have fallen in with the turbid stream of public opinion against the Chinese, and thus placed in the way of Christian effort the greatest obstacles to the conversion of those whom God, in his providence, has sent to our doors!

APPENDIX.

CHINESE EMIGRATION.

The following extracts on Chinese emigration are from an article by J. G. KERR, M. D., on the Chinese question, in the "Occident" of Jan. 31, 1877. It is thought necessary to republish them here, as there is so much misrepresentation by those who wish to convince the public and the lawmakers that the Chinese are not voluntary emigrants.

Emigration from China has been conducted under three different systems, each of which was marked by peculiar characteristics, and was recognized as good or evil, and was dealt with, by government and people, according to its merits.

The headquarters of one system were at Macao, a city under Portuguese rule, forty miles west of Hong Kong. It was carried on by Portuguese, Spaniards, and Peruvians, and was known as the Macao Coolie trade. The destination of the Coolies was Peru and Cuba. Contracts were made and signed with each Coolie for a certain number of years and at a fixed rate of wages. But the parties shipping the Coolies, after landing them and receiving the enormous profits of the speculation, had no further responsibility or power, and the poor Coolies were left in the guano islands, and in Cuba—the land of slavery—with no power in which they could trust for protection. A great number of these men were enticed by false representations, and many were kidnapped by agents or brokers, who took them to the barracoons in Macao, and were paid so much per head. These Coolie brokers became so obnoxious that whenever they were caught they were beheaded by the Chinese authorities; and a report in the city that a batch of them had ended their career at the execution-ground gave general satisfaction. Vessels bearing the English, American, and German flags were forbidden to carry these Coolies; and the business became so offensive to civilized nations that they united in demanding its suppression. The Portuguese Government, in

compliance with this demand, issued a decree abolishing the traffic about three years ago. Although this system was conducted under the forms of law, it was, in reality, little better than the African slave trade, as a recital of the tragedies on board the Coolie ships will amply testify. It was regarded with horror, alike by Chinese and Europeans, and its suppression was a great triumph of humanity.

There was another system, similar in form to the above, having its headquarters at Canton, but it was essentially different in character, and was in all respects legitimate and honorable. It was instituted by the British Government, to provide laborers for British Guiana and the Island of Trinidad, and was conducted by Mr. Theophilus Sampson, a most humane and honorable man. In the contract made with the Coolies, the British Government was the party on one side, and was pledged to see that the Chinese were fairly dealt with, and were not deprived of their rights. This system was in operation only about ten or twelve years, and was discontinued, partly because of the odium arising from the Macao trade, and the difficulty of disconnecting it from the abuses of that trade.

The third system of emigration is not of so recent origin as the others. Three hundred years ago, when Europeans first visited the far East, they found colonies of Chinese in the Phillippine Islands, Borneo, the Malayan peninsula, and Siam. The emigration to these places goes on to this day, the only difference being that passengers are now conveyed in foreign vessels instead of native junks. The discovery of gold in California and Australia attracted Chinese to these places, but from a locality entirely different from the sources which supplied men to the East Indian islands and Siam. It is a remarkable feature of Chinese emigration that it pursues fixed and almost unvarying channels; and it is to be noted that the English colony of Hong Kong is either the point of departure or a port of call for all the vessels carrying these emigrants. From Amoy, a district in Fokien Province, all who emigrate, go to the Phillippine Islands. From Swatow, in the eastern part of Canton Province, the destination is Siam. In the northeastern part of Canton Province is a distinct tribe of Chinese, many of whom have found their way to Borneo. The central and southwest parts of the same province supply all the men who go to California and Australia. Now, this system of emigration has been in operation for centuries, the different streams starting in definite but different localities, and terminating each in a different country. The best possible opportunity is thus afforded for detecting irregularities or oppressive practices in its prosecution. It is, however, a fact well known to all

residents in China, that it goes on quietly from year to year, passing through Hong Kong, and using English and American steamers and sailing vessels; and there is no intimation that the abuses connected with the Macao Coolie trade have ever been associated with this in the minds of either natives or foreigners. This is a sufficient evidence that it is voluntary emigration. But the British authorities and the American consul in Hong Kong are required to see that no individual is taken passenger in any of the vessels of these nations against his will. They have been especially vigilant in this matter since the Hong Kong papers brought to light the horrors of the Macao Coolie traffic. It is well known that for some years Chinese prostitutes (who are in reality slaves) have not been allowed to leave Hong Kong in vessels carrying emigrants, and the present American consul, Mr. Bayley, has done himself much credit by preventing the prosecution of this most inhuman form of human slavery in American vessels.

In reference to emigration to California it is said by some: "We have enough for the present, and would like to shut the floodgates before the Coast is deluged with heathenism. If China should send one-fifth of one per cent., or one man in every five hundred of her population, the Chinamen would outnumber all the rest of the inhabitants of this Coast, and would control its destiny."

The estimate of one of every five hundred would bring 400,000. It is a sufficient answer to this to say that, after twenty-five or more years of unrestricted emigration, we find only about 100,000 Chinese in the country. The probabilities are that this number will not increase rapidly, because the source of supply is a limited district of the Province of Canton, viz., the counties of San-hwui, San-ning, Hoi-ping, and Yan-ping, which supply the great majority of emigrants, not only to California, but to Australia, while some other counties send a small number. China is divided into eighteen Provinces, and only three of these have ever sent emigrants to any country over the sea, and the great central area of the Empire was so depopulated by the great Tae-ping Rebellion that many years will pass before it is again filled up and restored to its former prosperity.

The city of Shanghai is the great commercial emporium of China, situated near the mouth of the Yang-tsz river, and is in direct communication with all the interior provinces, as well as the coast provinces north and south. During a period of ten years, there has been a line of steamers between that port and San Francisco, running most of the time twice a month, *and yet not a single emigrant for California has ever sailed from that port.*

But suppose 400,000 Chinese were taken with a sudden desire to come to California, it would require nearly all the steamers in the world to bring them in a year, and commerce and travel would have to be suspended in other oceans to accommodate the trade of California. More than one thousand men would be landed every day in the year, to be lodged, fed, and provided with employment. The arrival of so many men would give such an activity to business as the oldest Californian has never seen. Real estate and house-rent would go up rapidly, the provision market would be pressed to its utmost, and shipping, with all its branches, would be very active, and skilled labor would be in demand. With all this prosperity, Chinese labor would decline, and would soon be reduced so low that everybody could keep several servants, and thousands of Chinese would be willing to work for food enough to sustain life. Indeed, the 30,000 arriving the first month would overstock the market, and the leading Chinese merchants would telegraph to Hong Kong that there was neither employment nor food for any more.